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for a NEW AFRICA
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How TO ACHIEVE THEM?
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PROCEEDINGS
CONFERENCE on AFRICA
NEW YORK - APRIL 14. 1944
wH'h addresses by
PAUL ROBESON and MAX YERGAN
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"We are determined that we shall gain total victory over our enemies, and we recognize the fact that our enemies are not only Germany, Italy and Japan: they are all the forces of oppression, intolerance, insecurity and injustice which have impeded the forward march of civilization?

-PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
on the second anniversary of the
signing of the Atlantic Charter,
August 16, 1943

Proceedings
of Ike
Conference
on

Africa-

New Perspectives

Auspices of H'Ie

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, INC.

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The publication of H115 Report was authorized by fhe Conference and was pre-
pare: by fhe following elecfded commiHee: Mrs. Amy Ashwood Garvey Mrs. Edifh
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and Dr. W. A. HunIon. \$29, H

FOREWORD

T THIS hour, with the armed might of the Allies massed for the crushing assault against Nazidom, we do not ask if the United Nations will win. We ask only when they will win and what they will win. The answer lies with us, the people of America and the peoples of the United Nations. If we fail to realize the pledge of the Atlantic Charter and Teheran, it will be because we who want that pledge fulfilled in its entirety have not spoken out clearly, loudly, and with one voice.

The way in which the United Nations collectively deal with colonial peoples and territories in the postwar period will be the clearest index of whether they can and will in fact shape a world of security, democracy and peace. And of all colonial areas, Africa, the largest and least developed, and hitherto a center of imperialist rivalries, represents the most crucial test.

The Conference on Africa held in New York on April 14 endeavored to define this problem and present solutions for it, - solutions based upon and affirming the indispensable condition of unity and close collaboration among the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, China and all the other members of the United Nations.

Participating in this Conference were Negro and white leaders of labor, civic, and women's organizations, national in scope and embracing several hundred thousand members: representatives of the church, education, and the press; and representatives of the peoples of British West Africa, the Caribbean, and India.

In the decisions of the Conference, the resolutions embodying the main substance of the discussion on Dr. Yergan's address and the agenda outline, the participants all spoke with one voice.

It is hoped that the publication of this report of the proceedings of the Conference will help toward cementing unity of opinion between the people and government of the United States, and unity of aim and action among the United Nations, in determining the future of Africa and other dependent areas. It is hoped that this document will contribute toward the achievement of a people's victory and a people's peace.

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CONFERENCE INVITATION

With the increasing discussion here and abroad of our war aims in relation to dependent areas of the world, and of the future of Africa specifically, it is clearly appropriate and necessary that opportunity should be given at this time for a body of representative American leaders in varied fields of our social life to meet together and attempt to reach at common agreement on basic principles and measures which they conceive essential for the future welfare of the African people. This is especially true since Africa represents perhaps the main testingground of the determination and ability of the United Nations to abolish imperialism and its evil consequences from the world.

In the light of these circumstances, the Council on African Affairs, in cooperation with the undesignated persons who are widely known for their interest in the welfare of African and other colonial peoples, is sponsoring a Conference on Africa-New Perspectives." The Conference will be held Friday, April 14, 1944, beginning 2:30 P.M. at the Institute for International Democracy, 23 West 26th Street, New York City.

The Council on African Affairs. Inc.

Paul Robeson, Chairman

William Jay Schieffelin, Vice-Chairman

Max Yergan, Executive Director

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PROGRAM

Afternoon Session, 2:30 P.M.

Opening Statement by Mr. Paul Robeson, Chairman of the Council, presiding officer at afternoon session

Reading of letters and greetings, by Mrs. Edith Field, Treasurer of the Council

Introduction of attending representatives of foreign governments and statement about the Council, by Dr. William Jay Schieffelin, Vice-Chairman of the Council

Address by Dr. Max Yergan, Executive Director of the Council

Statement on discussion procedure, by Dr. W. A. Hunton, Educational Director of the Council

Discussion Period

Summary of discussion and announcements

Evening Session, 7:30 P.M.

Introduction by Dr. Yergan of the presiding officer of the evening session, Mr. George Marshall, Chairman of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties

Statement by Mr. George Marshall, and nomination of Resolutions Committee

Introduction of Panel Participants

Statement by the leader of the panel, Mr. Ernest E. Johnson, Chief of the Washington Bureau of the Associated Negro Press

Panel discussion: "Africa in the American Press"

Business: Presentation of Conference resolutions, discussion and action

Adjournment

RESOLUTIONS

FOR LEADERSHIP BY THE UNITED STATES IN SECURING
INTERNATIONAL ACTION FOR AFRICAN PROGRESS
IN THE INTEREST OF WORLD SECURITY

Major Resolution Adopted on Postwar Policy

with a Message to the People and Government of America

HEREAS, the African people are allied with the progressive forces of the world in the fight to overthrow fascism, which Victory they recognize as the first essential to their own progress toward liberty, and this entailing as President Roosevelt has pointed out, victory over all the forces of oppression, intolerance, time, insecurity and injustice which have impeded the forward march of Civilization."

Centrally important in this is the attainment of the inferior social, economic and political status of dependent peoples in Africa and throughout the world.

The essential requirement for accomplishing this is now provided in the form of close international collaboration toward democratic goals (as represented by the Moscow, Leningrad, and Teheran Conferences), which collaboration can and must supplant the former imperialist rivalries and conflicts which have particularly characterized the European penetration and domination of Africa.

Such collaboration and harmony are essential to the raising of the living standards and social well-being of the African and other dependent peoples, and these advancements are in turn essential to the economic security of America and the world in the trying period of economic readjustment following the war; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the government of the United States should set the pace and standard for promoting policies of mutual aid in mutual self-interest by taking the initiative in securing international agreements and establishing effective international machinery for securing the social, economic and political advancement of the African and other colonial peoples, consistent With the Atlantic Charter and other declarations of the United Nations and with the requirements for achieving world security and peace.

It is essential to the success of such international collaboration in the interest of dependent peoples, hrst, that these peoples themselves participate fully in the planning and execution of developmental programs of every nature, and second, that all such programs in both principle and practice be directed in a systematic manner toward the achievement of self-government and the right of self-dctermination by these peoples.

This international agency must, further, guarantee that the interests of the majority of the people are in practice as well as in theory regarded as paramount in settling the future of the Italian colonies, mandated territories, or other jurisdictional problems, and also in the functioning of zmy regional organizm tions.

This Conference of Negro and White Americans, with representatives of the peoples of Africa and the British West Indies also in attendance, calls upon the government of the United States to take the leadership in promoting these policies and programs, as a guarantee that the fruits of Victory shall be shared equally by all peoples.

FOR IMMEDIATE REFORMS TO PROMOTE AFRICAN MORALE
AND INCREASE PRODUCTION FOR VICTORY

Resolutions adopted and addressed primarily to the responsible European governmental authorities having jurisdiction over African territories. The Conference, however, expressed the view (that organized labor in America and abroad, and the United States government, particularly through its economic advisers and missions in Africa) could assist greatly in effecting these reforms.

FORCED LABOR

WHEREAS, the use of forced or compulsory labor, which has been resorted to in mining and agricultural undertakings in several of the British and other dependent territories in Africa during the war, is contrary to the intent of the Forced Labor Convention of 1930, is contrary to the democratic principles for which the United Nations are fighting, and is wholly unjustified except from the point of view of those who stand to profit from a ready supply of cheap labor: therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that this Conference urges (1) that all necessary measures be taken to secure the immediate legal suppression of forced labor in all its forms in Africa and other dependent territories; (2) that adequate wages, proper working conditions and other inducements be extended in both private and public employment so as to promote the spontaneous offer of labor.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT

WHEREAS, the practice in the Union of South Africa and several of the African dependencies of excluding Africans from certain occupations, particularly in the skilled categories, and from the higher administrative posts in government, and of maintaining extreme wage differentials based on color for Africans and Europeans at the same levels of private and public employment, prevents the raising of African standards of living and at the same time perpetuates racial doctrines of a fascist nature; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that this Conference urges that all necessary measures be taken to insure equal employment opportunities and equal pay for equal work to all persons, regardless of race or

color, in all African and other dependent territories and in the Union of South Africa.

UNFAIR TRADING PRACTICES

XVHEREAS, monopolistic practices on the part of European owned business enterprises in Africa have thwarted the growth and development of African business undertakings, and have resulted in an extreme and unwarranted disparity between prices paid African producers for such commodities as cocoa, palm oil, and groundnuts and the prices which these same commodities bring in markets outside of Africa; therefore, be it RESOLVED, that African agricultural production and African industries for the processing of raw materials be promoted, and that fair prices be guaranteed to African producers for their crops by such governmental safeguards as are appropriate and necessary.

PLEDGE OF AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR AFRICAN ADVANCEMENT

Resolution adopted (1nd addressed to the People of Africa WHEREAS, this war has brought home to Americans the solidarity which must be achieved with other peoples of the world in attaining common goals, and this realization has been manifest in America's new relations with Africa; therefore, be it

Resolved, that there is increased recognition of the need for achieving solidarity among Negro people everywhere together with their close alliance with peoples of other races, particularly in the ranks of labor, who support the aspirations of the Africans for nationhood, in order to work with the fullest effectiveness for African advancement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that this Conference of Negro and white Americans, with representatives of the people of Africa and the British West Indies also in attendance, send to the leaders of the African people and their organizations our pledge of wholehearted cooperation in working with them toward the achievement of the goals of freedom and progress for which they struggle.

(The Resolutions Committee appointed by the Conference participants at the opening of the evening session consisted of Miss Gwendolyn Bennett, Mr. Steve Kingston and Dr. W. F. H. H. H., Chairman)

Paul Robeson

OPENING STATEMENT OF THE CONFERENCE

8 Chairman of the Council on African Affairs and on behalf of those persons who have cooperated with the Council in sponsornng this meeting, I am glad to welcome you to this Conference.

We are gathered here for the purpose of considering together our relationhthe relation of the American people and their government_to Africa,s place in the war and in the post-war world. I do not think there is any need to justify our discussion of this problem on the score that the United States is not one of the political rulers of Africa. Although Americans in the past have known little about Africa beyond the caricatures occasionally represented in American movies, most of them today are beginning to realize, I think, that the welfare of 150 million Afri-mm and other dependent peoples who make up almost half of the worlds population is something that directly concerns their own welfare. This war, a large part of which has been and is being iought in colonial areas,'has brought this truth home to them.

There has been lately an increasing volume of literature dealing with Africa and colonial territories in general. In it one finds quite 21 variety of viewpoints expressed. I won't attempt to (site them 2111, but I do want to mention one or two.

The hm that I have in mind I would call the "new imperial-ist" 5(11001 of thought. Representative of this school is the author of an article in Forlmze magazine some months ago who started 011' by describing Africa as che last great continental frontier of the world for the white man to cross," and as iithe jackpot of XYorld War II." He then proceeded to paint a glowing picture of Africa,s vast undeveloped wenlth-with no mention, of course, of the inhabitants. Such stuff is madeetororder propaganda for the Japanese enemy.

Another sdtool of colonial thought quite vocal at the pres-.

ent time I would speak of as the Uyes-but apologists.H These writers go so far as to acknowledge that there have been some mistakes and short-comings in colonial rule, and they admit that progress of the dependent peoples toward a better life is slow. But then comes the buts. But look at how much has been accomplished. But look how backward the people are, and how complex the problems are that must be solved. But we must be patient and persevere. All this boils down to advocacy of the status quo in the colonial system.

The trouble with proponents of both these points of view is that they do not take into account what is happening in the world. Being apparently blind to the present, they see the future as merely the shadow of the past. They are chained to the past.

Let us look at the present a moment. There exists today the fact of cooperation toward common democratic goals among the nations of the world on a scale never known before in history. That fact, which was established at the Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran meetings, lays the basis for international collaboration in the development of dependent areas and peoples-an entirely new approach to colonial problems. And it means the end of imperialism, imperialist exploitation, and imperialist rivalries. There is another important fact of the present day world which must be taken into account in thinking about the future of colonial peoples. That is the concrete demonstration which the Soviet Union has given to the world OE how, with systematic planning, a vast territory can be transformed in the space of a couple of decades from the most primitive, feudal agricultural economy into a modern agricultural and industrial economy; and of how many millions of peoples of different languages and cultures can be raised from illiteracy, poverty, and degradation to a high level of development with Hourishing social, cultural, and political institutions of their own.

Only in the last two 01' three years have most of us begun to learn the truth about the Soviet Union. Notable signs of this new understanding are the proposals of Colonel Oliver Stanley, British Secretary for Colonies, and 0f the delegates at the French Colonial Conference at Brazzaville to study methods of social improvement in the Soviet Union, particularly in the field of mass education, with a view toward applying these methods to African society.

These are some of the new perspectives, then, for the future of the African and other colonial peoples. Our emphasis in the discussion at this Conference will, I trust, be upon the future rather than the past, upon what can be rather than upon what has been.

And let us not, in discussing post-war plans, lose sight of the fact that the primary task still before us is the winning of the war. The whole character of the post-war world depends, first of all, upon the outcome of the war. And not simply upon victory—we have no doubts about that—but upon how quickly and decisively victory is won. If there is undue prolongation of the war or compromise with the enemy, as a result of reactionary elements here and abroad gaining ascendancy over the will of the majority, we shall have lost what we are fighting for.

The winning of the war and the winning of the peace are inter-related things, not separate. Both depend upon the maintenance of the closest unity on the national and international levels.

This conference is dedicated to promoting such unity in the interest of the African people and in the interest of American and world-wide security.

It is in this spirit that I again welcome you to the Conference.

Max Yergan

"AFRICA-NEW PERSPECTIVES"

Main Address of the Conference

Let me begin by expressing again the appreciation of the Council on African Affairs for your attendance here at this Conference and your support of the Council's efforts in working for the progress and freedom of the African people.

In the proposed agenda for discussion at this Conference, three main points have been set forth:

- (1) ways and means of increasing Africa's contribution toward winning the war,
- (2) the solution of territorial and jurisdictional problems which are already visible, and
- (3) the determination of the essential policies which will provide for the general advancement of the African people toward achieving their proper place in the modern world community.

By way of opening the discussion, it is my purpose to present, in the briefest possible manner, the principal views of the Council with regard to these matters.

I. Increasing Africa's Contribution Toward Victory

There will be some, perhaps, who will consider it rather late in the day to be discussing the question of increasing Africa's contribution to victory. But in my opinion the question is still very urgent today. It is urgent in exactly the same sense that here in America we consider it most necessary to keep up the fight for the Negro's full and equal participation in the national war effort—in the armed forces, in industry, and in every phase of the nation's life.

If national unity here among all sections of the population is today a matter of concern, so likewise is unity among white, yellow, brown, and black peoples the world over in their common fight against fascism.

The African's contribution to allied Victory has not been in-

significant. But it has been made very largely in the face of harsh and wasteful labor practices, archaic productive methods, and barriers of every type, all of which characterize European domination of the African.

I do not wish to dwell upon the land alienation, labor exploitation, and social coercion and restriction which have followed from the economic penetration of the European into Africa. But we cannot afford to remain blind to the consequences of these things upon the war effort, upon the Africans, and upon other peoples in a similar dependent status. Under the excuse of the war emergency, forced labor for mining and agricultural enterprises has been reintroduced in Kenya, Tanganyika, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, and Rhodesia. The European planters and mine operators in these dependencies thus assure themselves not only of a ready market and a fixed profit but also of a steady supply of labor at a minimum cost—at wages, for example, of \$2.00 or less a month in the Kenya sisal industry. Is labor conscription necessary? Nigeria has in its 21 million population, 8 million adult males, of whom only 182,600 are in wage-employment, 46,000 of them in the mines. Yet it was deemed necessary to resort to labor conscription to increase tin production; which industry, it should be noted, is privately owned and has a much lower wage scale than the government-owned coal mines.

This is just one instance of measures which are hindering Africans from making their maximum potential contribution to victory. I shall only mention such other measures as the color bar, the pass systems, and restrictions upon trade union recognition and collective bargaining forced upon Africans by the dominant European minority in the Union of South Africa, the Rhodesias and Kenya.

What is possible in the improvement of conditions of African labor and social well-being as a means toward increasing the production of war materials and food-stuffs has been demonstrated during the war in the Belgian Congo and in French Equatorial Africa under the administration of Governor-General Felix Eboué. The great Negro Governor died May 7, 1944.

The latter's achievements, as one writer has said, provide, in microcosm, a demonstration of the results that could be obtained by social changes now as a means of furthering both the development of Africa and the prosecution of the war."

Our government in its immensely enlarged relations with Africa, and our American labor movement, working in cooperation with the British and other progressive labor forces of the world, can and must aid in making the African people our full and equal ally in the struggle against fascism.

II. Solution of Jurisdictional Problems

I turn now to the second point, the solution of territorial and jurisdictional problems which are already visible. In many quarters, and not only among Negro Americans, questions are being asked about the future of the former Italian African Empire, about the future of African mandated areas, about the sovereign status of Ethiopia and Liberia, and about the projected regional grouping of African territories such as advocated by General Smuts.

The Atlantic Charter and the Moscow and Teheran Declarations, with their guarantees of international justice and democracy, must be the instruments for solving these and other similar questions. Support of these agreements, support of the United Nations coalition, is, in the long run, the only realistic method of guarding against territorial and jurisdictional changes in Africa which are not in the interest of the majority of the population.

In 1942 a writer in the Christian Science Monitor pointed out how the exigencies of war were breaking down the hodgepodge of political boundaries which the colonial expansion of the European countries has established in Africa." These numerous boundaries, he indicated, had hampered the economic development of the continent, and now new economic units, overlapping the political frontiers, were taking form.

This breaking down of isolationist barriers between the various colonies in Africa has been one of the most significant changes which the war has brought to that continent. It has not only made for economic progress; it has also made possible, particularly in British West Africa, a new outlook for the unification of African peoples.

There is, however, the danger that these regional economic units may develop into instruments for furthering European domination of the continent. It is for this reason that proposed regional federations in the Eastern and Southern parts of the continent have been consistently opposed by Africans. This danger can be avoided only by making sure that the dependent

peoples themselves, and not merely their governors, have a voice in making decisions in these regional councils, wherever formed; that Ethiopia and Liberia are properly represented in such units; and most important that these regional bodies are subordinate and responsible to a world-embracing international authority which shall establish economic and political goals and enforce minimum labor and social standards for all dependent areas of the world.

III. Planning for Post-War Africa

This brings me to the third and major point which we have to consider—planning for the social, economic and political progress of the African people.

It is the view of the Council that the future of the African or of any other dependent or semi-dependent people must be studied not as an isolated problem but in relation to the general requirements for maintaining peace, democracy, and economic security on a world-wide scale. We know today that the world is one community with inter-dependent parts. We know that not merely humanitarianism but self-interest requires that Americans concern themselves with the welfare of what were once considered remote corners of the earth.

On both sides of the Atlantic, among influential business and progressive labor circles, it is being increasingly realized that to maintain industrial production rates at their present high level after the war, so that there can be full employment of all those now engaged in producing war materials or serving in the armed forces, it is necessary to find new markets, and such markets can only be created by raising the purchasing power in those dependent areas where millions have hitherto known little but poverty and want.

In somewhat the same way that the Southern region of this country is called the nation's number one economic problem, so the colonial territories all over the globe may be called the world's number one economic problem. Raising the living standards and wellbeing of the peoples of these colonial territories to a new and higher level is an indispensable condition for gaining economic security in the post-war world. It is an indispensable condition for avoiding right here in the United States a repetition of the wholesale unemployment and privation which we experienced in the last decade.

From still another point of view, we may also say that the

necessity for this leveling up process is seen in the fact that the division of the world population into dominant and dependent sections, just as the division of a nation's population into privileged and oppressed sections, breeds friction and conflict. World security must rest upon the recognition of equal worth among all peoples and the guarantee of equal opportunity for all peoples to develop and progress.

How to achieve the raising of the living standards of Africa's 150 millions? How to insure their just recognition as members of a democratic world community? The Council has no detailed blue-print plan to offer. Its proposals are in the form of basic principles and policies which stem from the present world situation in which the forces of progress are allied together in a struggle against the forces of reaction.

Teheran and the Future of Colonies

A new perspective for the freedom of colonial peoples was opened up when Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill jointly declared their determination that our nations shall work together in the war and in the peace that will follow. . . . We shall seek the cooperation and active participation of all nations, large and small, whose peoples in heart and mind are dedicated, as are our own peoples, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance."

Behind this declaration is the realization born of experience that close international collaboration is the only road to victory over the enemy and is likewise the only road to a secure and lasting peace. Thus it is not a mere expression of hope, an idealistic goal; it is an expression of conviction and determination founded upon practical necessity. As the Secretary of State said a few days ago, speaking of the Teheran agreement, "That concert among the Allies rests on broad foundations of common interests and common aspirations, and it will endure."

This is the basis of our belief that the same unity and energy of the progressive forces of the world which has been developed in the war against fascism will, when the Victory is won, continue to be directed toward winning the larger victory of economic and social well-being of all peoples of the world.

The Council's View, then, is that the future of Africa and of other colonial areas must be worked out on the plane of worldwide international agreements and action. This is not a new view. It has been advanced and endorsed by many responsible

individuals and organizations here and abroad. But it has not as yet, to our knowledge, found explicit expression in any official statement of policy either here or abroad.

Our view is that such an international approach is essential. Apart from the necessity for maintaining close collaboration in the interest of international unity and security, it seems obvious that, notwithstanding some recent indications of progress in the British, Belgian, and French colonial policies and practices in Africa, the rate of progress under the various separate colonial administrations is so slow as to imply an interminable process. The various complex and le'lcult problems of African life are usually advanced as the principal reason for this slow pace and for the inability to set any definite time when self-government can be attained in any dependency. Granted that there are these difhcult problems, would not the combined resources and cooperative planning of an international agency hasten the solution of these problems?

An Infernational Authority

What kind of international agency? It would be an agency comparable to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Association. It would establish, in cooperation with the representatives of the peoples affected, labor, social, and civil standards and rights for the indigenous population of every dependent territory and would have the authority to hold the governments of such territories strictly accountable for the maintenance of these standards and rights. The agency would have central responsibility for planning, financing (from a pool of public subsidy and private investment funds), and supervising the development of mass education, health services, housing, etc., together with industrial progress and general social advancement in all dependent territories.

The agency in its direction and supervision of the economic development of the country would guard against monopolistic restrictions and controls and would encourage public, cooperative, and collective enterprise among the indigenous population. This development program would also be extended to independent states, where the majority of the population is indigenous and is in need of such help--provided the governments of these states are willing to conform to the standards and rights established for dependent peoples. The agency would have the fur-

ther responsibility of certifying and guaranteeing self-government and the right of self-determination to the people of any dependent area, and of promoting development of all such peoples toward self-government according to a specific time schedule. This is obviously only a general definition of the character, authority, and functions of the kind of international agency needed to achieve the goals desired. The filling in of the details can be left to experts already engaged in mapping the future for the United Nations.

Fear has been expressed in some quarters and by some Africans as to the wisdom of setting up any international authority over the colonies, on the ground that it would be more difficult for the African people to wrest their freedom from a combination of masters than from one master. If one is thinking in terms of an authority to promote inter-imperialism, that fear is certainly well grounded.

Let me emphasize, however, that neither the present trend of world history nor the functions of the international agency which I have just described provide any basis for such a fear. I have already dealt with the necessity for the leading powers of the world to raise the living standards of dependent peoples in order to maintain their own economic equilibrium in the transition from war to peace. From this it should be evident that inter-imperialism at the present time is neither practicable nor desirable from the point of view of the self-interest of the great powers.

It is certain that the industrialization program can be successful only if it enlists the full participation and cooperation of the African people themselves and benefits them directly. It is important to note that one of the principles which the International Labor Organization will consider at its meeting next week is that "all possible steps shall be taken to associate the peoples of dependent territories in the framing and execution of measures of social progress through their own appropriate institutions."

There is one other important safeguard: The entire developmental program must constantly be focused upon the objective of self-government, and there must be no frustration in the accomplishment of this objective. I believe these two principal safeguards are provided for in the international agency proposed.

IV. Urgency of International Collaboration in Behalf of Dependent Peoples

Assuming that this agency is practicable and desirable, the question remains: can it be established? VVC acknowledges that there is at present an apparent reluctance in British official circles to consider any form of international authority for dependencies broader in scope than that of consultative regional bodies such as the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission. But on the other hand, there has been a readiness in these same circles to recognize the need for economic planning through international collaboration, and it is difficult to see how such economic planning could leave out the question of the development of the world's dependencies.

As for the French, the second principal colonial power in Africa, the Colonial Conference at Brazzaville, a short time ago, indicated clearly a desire and willingness to enter upon a new and more progressive colonial regime, and to enter into collaboration with other powers in planning for the future of Africa. And I think it will be readily agreed that the U.S.S.R. and China would likewise be wholly favorable to such collaboration.

Finally, among the principal allied powers, there is the United States. Although to date there has been no official statement from our government favoring any specific procedures for securing the development of Africa or of dependent territories in general, there have been several indications of general policy. It has been affirmed that the application of the principles of the Atlantic Charter is not to be considered as restricted to any particular people or area. It has been emphasized that the winning of the people's victory depends upon expanded production and free international commerce after the war. And it has been stated that the principle of mutual aid in mutual self-interest, as embodied in Article 7 of the master Lend-Lease agreements must continue to prevail in international economic relations after the war.

Secretary Hull's reference to the responsibility of independent nations in relation to dependent peoples who aspire to liberty" leaves open the question of whether this is to be regarded as a collective or individual responsibility of the independent nations. In an address last summer, however, Mr. Henry S. Villard, now Chief of the Division of African Affairs in the State Department, hinted rather plainly at the need for collective responsibility.

He pointed out that there could be no rapid development in the African colonies on the basis of the limited colonial revenues available, and that the British Colonial Development and Welfare appropriation, while a start in the right direction, was only a drop in the bucket of appropriations which Africa could absorb."

No doubt the governing powers would welcome our participation," Mr. Villard said, "in international bodies or regional councils, should they be set up, specifically to aid in the development of Africa for the benefit of the African people. . . . If we wish to obtain benefits from the development of Africa, in the interest of all peoples-including the natives themselves-capital must be supplied for various purposes and from various sources: philanthropic, commercial, and perhaps international. The proof of our sincerity in fulfilling hopes awakened during these years of war will lie in our willingness to contribute to and invest in the future of Africa."

I would like to underscore that last sentence, adding the thought that the future welfare of Americans no less than that of Africans depends upon American Willingness to contribute to and invest in the future of Africa. After the war, no nation will be able to contribute so greatly as the United States financially, commercially, and technologically-to the development of Africa and other dependent areas. As it is the arsenal for a United Nations victory, so our nation must be the main bulwark of worldwide economic security.

It is, of course, to be expected that this country will participate in forthcoming international agreements and decisions respecting colonial peoples and territories. But more than this is necessary, By virtue of its economic preeminence, and the fact that it is the only great power which will not have to concern itself after the war with problems of international reconstruction, this nation can and should take the initiative in developing agreements among the United Nations upon such economic and political policies, international machinery, and broad programs of development for the African and other colonial peoples as will insure that in winning Victory we will win a world of unity, security and social progress.

This, in the opinion of the Council, is the message which this Conference can give to the people and government of America.

"AFRICA_-NEW PERSPECTIVES"

Proposed Agenda for Discussion

The following statement of principle and proposed agenda, which had been sent to the Conference participants in advance of the meeting, was agreed upon by the Conference as the basis for discussion.

WHAT is the future of the dependent peoples of the world?

What is Africa's future?

The answer concerns us as well as the colonial peoples. A world of continuing colonialism will perforce be a world of economic scarcity, unemployment and want, since modern productive capacity and colonialism are as incompatible as were the wage and slave systems in the last century. A world of continuing colonialism can mean only increasing imperialist rivalries, the spread of fascism, and another world war. These are the inescapable alternatives to the world of the Atlantic Charter. Africa, long the forgotten and "dark" continent, must have its proper place within the new post-war world. The principles postulated in the following outline, as a basis of our conference discussion, have been framed in accordance with the all-important perspective of international cooperation toward democratic goals. Within the framework of such cooperation there are boundless possibilities for the future of all colonial peoples and of the world in general; without such cooperation there is no future for any of us. The American people, by virtue of their country's pre-eminent economic power, have a major responsibility for strengthening and giving direction to the United Nations coalition, thus insuring the security of the world free from imperialism.

I. TO CONSIDER WHAT IS BEING DONE AND CAN BE DONE TO INCREASE AFRICA'S CONTRIBUTION TO VICTORY OVER FASCISM.

A. "Emergency" compulsory labor practices are unwarranted and harmful to African morale; such practices should be replaced by proper labor incentives.

B. Further immediate reforms needed to increase production are: abolition of the color bar in industry, provision of adequate wages and decent working conditions, and fair prices to small farmers and homesteaders

(2. Further progress must be made in the rationalization of production through the use of machinery to replace human labor.

D. There is necessity for guarding against trends toward peace-time curtailment of production, already evident, for example, in the case of Rhodesian copper production.

E. Through United States economic missions and advisors, and through Lend-Lease assistance, much can be done toward correcting the conditions indicated in the preceding four points.

F. Organized labor in America, the projected World Trade Union Conference, and the International Labor Organization can all aid effectively in bringing about correction of these same conditions.

G. Though Africans have been and are being employed on the allied fighting fronts, the need still continues for doing away with barriers to their full participation in the armed services.

11. TO DETERMINE THE BEST MEANS OF SOLVING JURISDICTIONAL AND TERRITORIAL PROBLEMS IN AFRICA.

A. The disposition of former Italian colonies or of other areas in Africa must be in accordance with the first three points of the Atlantic Charter and in accordance with the agreement of a general world organization.

15. All projected regional councils and federations, whether having administrative or consultative powers, should be subordinate and subject to the world organization, should provide for the direct participation of African representatives, and should guarantee throughout the area under their jurisdiction the uniform observance of such social, economic and political principles as are set forth under the Atlantic Charter.

C.

1).

Ethiopia and Liberia, as sovereign states, should have the same direct representation as European colonial powers and other states in all regional councils and agencies, whether economic or political in function, in their respective areas.

Encouragement should be given to the unification of peoples who have been arbitrarily divided and separated by colonial boundaries and other barriers.

III. TO ESTABLISH PRINCIPLES UPON WHICH PLANS FOR THE SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL ADVANCEMENT OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE SHOULD BE BASED.

A.

B.

It is impossible under traditional and current colonial policies and practices, both because of their general inadequacy and extreme variance, to bring Africa within any plan of world-wide economic abundance and political democracy.

The principle of mutual aid in mutual self-interest, which is guiding the United Nations to Victory, must be maintained in order to win the peace; this international pattern must supplant the imperialistic pattern of exploiting and exploited nations: raising the standards of living in dependent areas, which can be accomplished only by large scale public and private investments and subsidies in such areas, is an essential requirement for the avoidance of a disastrous world-wide economic depression in the post-war period.

. Considerations of economy, efficiency, and international unity-in the spirit of Telleran-require that the planning and development of the education, economic stability, social welfare, and advancement of Africans toward self-government, be undertaken and supervised on a broad international basis-with African participation.

(This assumes that individual states and governments would retain direct administration of their areas subject to international supervision and sanction: see NF below.)

D. Such an international organization would make possible the uniform application of such progressive measures as the British Colonial Development and Welfare Fund (on a vastly enlarged scale), the Belgian industrial program, and the French social, economic, and administrative reforms projected at the recent Brazzaville Colonial Conference.

E. Such an international organization would make possible the planning and adoption of a continent-wide system of education and health services, and the economic development of all areas of the continent.

F. Such an international organization would be responsible for guaranteeing full self-government and the right of self-determination to the people of any dependent area (even over the opposition of the suzerain state), and for setting definite dates at which time the peoples of each dependent area might achieve self-government. (The experience of the Soviet Union and the policy of the United States with reference to the Philippines provide proof and models of the practicability of setting specific time limits for the achievement of specific objectives.)

G. Parallel with equal access by all states to the trade and natural resources of Africa, as provided by point four of the Atlantic Charter, there must be progressive curtailment of the dominance of foreign interests over the economy of the people, with African public enterprise (government ownership and operation, cooperative industry, collective farming) taking the place of European private enterprise in the economic development of the continent -such economic autonomy is a guarantee (though not a prerequisite) of political autonomy.

H. As the first step toward the accomplishment of the social advancement of the African people, there should be the immediate abolition in all areas-colonial and non-colonial-of all restrictions of their civil, political, and trade union rights, to the end that democratic institutions and the responsibilities which these entail may be developed among the people.

SUMMARY OF CONFERENCE DISCUSSION

THE major part of the afternoon session was given over to discussion from the floor by the Conference participants. This discussion followed in general the sequence of points in the agenda outline. Principal attention was given to the following points: elimination of forced labor in Africa; correction of unfair trade practices and the extremely low prices paid African producers; the achievement of self-government, particularly in the British West African dependencies; the character of the proposed international authority over colonial territories; the possibilities of industrial development; and the responsibility which Americans and other peoples of the world have for the liberation of Africans and other colonial peoples.

No attempt has been made to set down a complete record of the discussion, though the following represents an accurate summary of all points of ViCW expressed by the Conference participants.

Forced Labor Practices

Several persons commented on the war-time revival of forced labor practices in Africa and the contradiction between such practices and the democratic aims of the United Nations. One speaker characterized the conscription of labor as an indication of the practice of fascism in Africa. Mr. A. Balfour Linton cited conditions of labor conscription in the Nigerian mines. It was brought out in the discussion that there had been criticism of these practices in the British Parliament and that the excuse of the war emergency had been exposed as invalid.

Mrs. Lida N. Broner, who has spent considerable time in Africa, described methods of recruitment of African mine workers in the Union of South Africa. She said that this represented another form of compulsory labor. hEuropean merchants extend credit to native families, knowing well that they cannot pay. Then the men are obligated to go to work in the mines for 31f, an hour to repay the debt. The merchants receive about \$5.00 for each man they get to go to work in the mines."

The inter-relation of forced labor practices in colonial areas and the exploitation of workers, particularly of minority groups, in the United States, Britain, and other countries, was stressed by several speakers. This was one of the most important issues,

it was pointed out, which organized labor forces throughout the world must combat.

Unfair Trade Practices

Two of the Africans participating in the Conference, from Nigeria and the Gold Coast, gave first-hand testimony regarding methods used by European commercial interests, with the cooperation of colonial officials, to maintain a low level of prices for African agricultural producers and to stifle economic progress among the people.

It was pointed out that the illeagre prices paid to the Africans for palm oils, an essential war material which Africa contributes to the United Nations, offered no inducement for increasing the production supply of this material. The same conditions apply to other agricultural products.

The spokesman from the Gold Coast said, HVVe are producing about 55 per cent of the worlds supply of cocoa beans. The farmers are paid 214(1- a pound for cocoa. It brings 89% a pound in London, 96' in New York. This is impoverishing the Africans."

It was emphasized by several speakers that the cartels :md monopolistic commercial concerns which drain the wealth of Africa without contributing to the social and economic advancement of the indigenous people, must be brought under strict international and national controls, and that every opportunity must be given for agricultural and industrial enterprises for the Africans to develop and prosper.

Achievement of Self-Governmenf

The achievement of self-govemment within definitely stated time limits must be the central objective of all post-war planning for African and other colonial peoples, it was repeatedly stated during the discussion. The liberal forces in the principal countries of the world, it was said, have an obligation to insure the application of the Atlantic Charter to colonial peoples despite the contrary views expressed by Churchill and others.

Special attention was given to the demand for self-govemment in the British XVest African dependencies and it was agreed that wide endorsement and publicity should be given to the plan for progressive reforms leading to internal self-government with-

in a ten-year period for the British XWest African colonies ("The Atlantic Charter and British West Africa") as drafted by a group of African newspaper editors from these colonies last year.

An International Authority for Colonial Development

Mr. F. Nwia-Kofi Nkrumah asked, Suppose we establish an international authority. Is it going to be a commission of the present governments in Africa which support a policy of lwhite superiority? If so, it will fail. Or is it going to be representative of the people of the world? XMhat part will the African himself play in it?"

In reply Dr. Yergan said in part, ltAs set forth in the agenda outline, we believe that this authority cannot function effectively unless it has its roots among the people and unless Africans themselves are in on the ground floor of the planning. We insist that that must be the character of the international authority. It cannot be the same sort of an authority that came out of the last war which was for the benefit of the few. It must be based on the fact that the present war is a people's war and that the victory can be a peopleis victory.

uIt is absolutely essential to have collaboration among the progressive forces of America and in those lands where the new spirit of progress and democracy is increasingly manifesting itself-in France and in Britain, in India and in China. The Soviet Union will be a great force for progress in such international cooperation. Our Council believes in the necessity for full collaboration as represented in the Teheran agreement and will work for it, because every lesson of contemporary history gives evidence of the effectiveness of this means for securing the realization of full democratic rights for the people of Africa."

Industrial Development of Africa

With regard to the possibilities of economic advancement of the African people through international planning and subsidizing, one of the most illuminating statements was made by Dr. Tredwell Smith. He pointed out that in the urapid advancement going on in terms of transformation of economic and industrial conditions in different parts of the world, we find that the key to advancement is in terms of finance and investment of a particular type." "Where," he asked, "would financial

investment get the most results in Africa? Why not think of about three, or even one, TVA project which would actually demonstrate the value of international cooperation in financing the development of a territory in Africa? I think that would make more dramatic the demand for this international authority. "I came into ISOvietJ Armenia at the end of the last war. There was nothing there but literal starvation. That country was completely transformed in a measurable period of time. Financing did this. An enormous (121111 was built so that there could be electrification of industry and of homes through the harnessing of water power. The flowering of an ordered, organic culture was the result."

Other speakers cited the rapid industrial and social advancements achieved in areas of the world through systematic planning in which the people participated.

Our Responsibility for Supporting H18 Cause of Colonial Liberation
The discussion on this point revolved around the part which Negro Americans, Negroes in other parts of the world, the organized labor forces in this country and abroad, and the African people themselves should play in working for the realization of democratic rights in Africa.

Some of the Conference participants referred to the period following the first World War when the struggle for African freedom was supported almost wholly by Negroes and was regarded as a Negro issue exclusively. One or two persons present voiced the slogans of Negro nationalism of that period.

Dr. Yergan pointed out that the Council on African Affairs did not wish to evade the issue of racial nationalism. The necessity for collaboration among all progressive forces in order to work for the interests of any particular group was, he said, one of the most important lessons of this war. "The first essential is victory over fascism, and in order to accomplish this, we must have the maximum of international unity as well as national unity. Nationalism in the racial sense is insufficient. Racial unity as an end in itself is insufficient. Negro labor and white labor have everything in common-so also have Negro liberals and white liberals. The winning of a new future for Africa requires the support of all of these forces. There must be the closest bond of cooperation between the peoples of Africa and the peoples of the rest of the world. This is our perspective. This

concept is bigger than any concept of race. Racial unity, yes! But not as an end in itself."

A parallel observation was made by Mrs. Amy Ashwood Garvey, wife of the late Marcus Garvey. "My thoughts go back," Mrs. Garvey said, "to 25 years ago and the difficulty of getting people in the United States to think of the word Africa. And when we gather here to endorse the program of this Council, I feel honored and privileged."

"I feel that the time has changed, conditions have changed largely in the world today, and people are thinking more humanely. Because of that, we find that we have to broaden our vision and broaden our policy to include other groups of people who have been suffering as we have suffered, and I see no ill in finding white allies. But the Negro himself must take the initiative and though we may gather our allies everywhere, we ourselves must feel the prime responsibility for striking the blow in the interests of our posterity and ourselves."

An Indian, just arrived from his country, brought a message of greeting to the Conference and an expression of the support of the Indian people for the cause of African liberation. A Puerto Rican, Mr. Jesus Colon, expressed the common cause which people of Latin and South America, many of whom are of African descent, have with the struggles of Africans against exploitation and imperialism.

Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune emphasized the necessity for Negro women in America to contribute to the raising of morale of the African people. "A great responsibility rests on us as American Negroes," she said, "to accept the challenge of the conditions under which our brothers and sisters in Africa suffer. I want to speak particularly for the American Negro women. We want to help change these conditions and raise the morale of the African women. I want to offer to the Council on African Affairs our full cooperation in its work."

Speaking for organized labor, Miss Daisy George and other trade union representatives present pointed to the importance of making clear to American workers the fact that their own security is bound up with the emancipation of African and other colonial workers from the economic handicaps of imperialism.

"The Negro people in the trade union movement," Miss George said, "have a very special job of making trade union memberships aware of this—of what is going on in the world and of

their responsibility in playing a prominent part toward the achievement of world-wide democracy?

Mr. Steve Kingston declared that the realization of the objectives set forth in the Council's statement of policy required the mobilization of organizations in this country and Canada, and in England particularly, in support of the program. Here are representatives of many organizations never before connected with the Council. What is necessary now is that the work of the Council be supplemented by large bodies of representatives of the people to carry on a continuous campaign. We have to get the United States, Great Britain and other governments of the United Nations to come together and agree on progressive policies for Africa such as we have discussed here today. This is what we have to work for."

SUMMARY OF PANEL DISCUSSION

"AFRICA IN THE AMERICAN PRESS"

Leader of the Panel: Ernest E. Johnson, Chief of the Washington Bureau, Associated Negro Press.

Panel Participants: Mary E. Finger, New York Age; Eugene Gordon, Daily Worker; Anthony Jenkinson, Allied Labor News; H. A. B. Jones-Quatley, African Interpreter; George Kleinman, Fur and Leather Worker; Louis Ogull, N.M.U. Pilot; Llewellyn Ransom, P6012165 Voice; John Stuart, New Masses.

Excerpts from Opening Statement by Mr. Johnson

We're going to consider here this evening those failures which account for the situation where, until recently, Africa has been looked to by the American public as a land of wild animals and European vested interests. We're going to probe, to some degree, what can be done to correct this impression and, going beyond, what means are available to place before the American people more information that would make for a rounded picture of Africa. Naturally, as representatives of the American press, our concern shall stem from the angle which these organs of information and opinion may play. . . . This afternoon's discussion clearly projected Africa into the world picture. Mr. Robeson told you that the welfare of 150 million Africans and other dependent peoples directly affects the American people. . . . This war is being fought not to retain the status quo but rather to effect Change. Africa offers perhaps the most fertile field for effecting change. Surface evidences should make clear that Africa is going to be a focal point in post-war adjustments. . . .

In short, Africa is the contested area, and America is now finding an 'interest' which it will protect. Whether the American people want it that way or not is something they shall have to decide. But the decision has got to be made on the basis of information provided through our newspapers. There is some doubt as to whether the American press has been discharging this responsibility faithfully. The Christian Science Monitor has perhaps been in the vanguard in its presentation of news and information dealing with Africa. If we exclude the purely mili-

tary operations and the necessary political reactions that followed the North African campaign, we shall have to look far and wide for other news of Africa in the general press.

"When the subject has been brought home to us, we have not been any more disposed to treat it with the importance properly due it. It was my good fortune to accompany the party of President Edwin Barclay of Liberia throughout his official visit here last May and June as the representative of the Associated Negro Press. I can tell you quite frankly that the coverage in the daily press was meagre and in the Negro press, except for the welcome in Washington, not much better. Reporters of the daily press who questioned President Barclay at Blair House in Washington, in several instances, treated him as though he were the 'Little King of comic strip fame; others sought to justify social and political mistreatment of American Negroes by drawing seeming parallels in policies of Liberia which might in some respects be construed as discriminatory in nature against whites.

"The fact that the Ethiopian government had opened a legation in Washington and that the State Department even 113:1 formerly announced this brought, generally, about a paragraph in the daily press. Only a segment of the Negro press found it worth much more.

uMy own experience in covering the nations capital has been to find that too few papers of the Negro press give attention to things that are happening today in the relationship between our own government and the governments of Ethiopia and Liberia.

I base this contention upon the fact that whereas a spokesman for the State Department formally declared last summer that it is developing a foreign policy toward Africa_and he named Ethiopia and Liberia specifically-few of the papers have been disposed to follow the evolvement of this policy. To Ethiopia a technical mission-engineers of a variety of skills-has been sent by us to assist that government in rebuilding. This is a sharp departure from the past. In Liberia the American government has agreed to underwrite the construction of a much-needed harbor which will cost in the neighborhood of five millions of American dollars.

"These two instances in themselves should be an introduction to things to come. But the follow-up interest has not been there. The Black Dispatch, published in Oklahoma City by the militant Roscoe Dunjee, is perhaps way ahead among the Negro

press in the presentation of both news and editorial treatment of African affairs. . . .

Let us consider, apart from any joint responsibility there may be (for adequate treatment of African Affairs), whether separate responsibilities may be found for (a) the general press, (b) the Negro press, and (c) the labor press; and what suggestions there are as to how the shortcomings of the past may be overcome in these three categories of the press."

Analysis of Shortcomings in Press Coverage of Africa

There was general agreement among the panel participants with Mr. Johnson's characterization of the failure of the American press generally to give adequate treatment of African news and developments affecting Africa. This failure was regarded as another indictment of the general daily press, parallel with the failure to give adequate treatment of labor news, news regarding minority groups, etc.

The reasons for this condition were attributed to the general ignorance among Americans about Africa and to the control of the general press by vested interests. It was pointed out that American schools were generally guilty of miseducation on the subject of Africa and Africans, and that the magazines, movies, and other vehicles of popular information, generally portray African life, if at all, in caricature. Mr. Jones-Quartey remarked that Africans were often amused, but also indignant and outraged, by the misrepresentations which they found in American papers and magazines.

The observation was made, however, that it was improper to lump all the daily papers together in one category, and it was mentioned that two leading New York dailies had sent reporters to cover the Conference, although their representatives were not participating in the panel discussion.

Mr. Stuart stated that it was necessary to accept the fact that the outlook and structure of the big news services would remain the same for a long time and that it was necessary to try to make improvements within the existing structure.

Suggestions for Improving Coverage of African News

There was general agreement that the current developments in world relationships, and particularly between this country and Africa, placed an obligation upon the American press, especially

the labor and Negro press, to perform a better job of informing and educating the American public about Africa. Several proposals for bringing this about were offered.

Mr. Kleinman and others emphasized the importance of relating African problems to American problems. Mr. Kleinman said, "We should make Americans, and especially American labor, see that without progressively developing the industrially backward colonial areas, that without raising the standards of the peoples in those places, we will have unemployment here and will come face to face with a depression worse than the last."

Mr. Ransom urged that information be presented in popular form such as an interesting series of feature stories, and he suggested that African students in this country be secured to write such stories from their first-hand knowledge of African life.

Miss Finger suggested that more African news would be included in the daily press if a campaign for demanding it were organized among a large section of readers.

The point was also made by Mr. Ogull that the increasing prestige and influence of an organization such as the Council on African Affairs might result in a more respectful attitude on the part of the daily press in presenting news of the African people.

Mr. Jenkinson suggested that the increasing strength of the trade union movement among Africans and closer relationship between African workers and American workers, as well as the organized labor movements of Latin America, India and China, would help bring Africa more into the news. Mr. Kleinman proposed that the C.I.O. should establish direct contact with trade unions in Africa just as they have with trade unions in Latin America. He cited the fact that the American press had lately begun to carry such stories as that on the Bolivian tin mines in South America.

One central problem that needed attention, all acknowledged, was the establishment of a news center through which African information could be cleared. The Council on African Affairs, with the cooperation of the African Students Association, could provide such a service, it was said.

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Cumberbatch, V.
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Davis, Malcolm XV.
Dean, Rev. Elmer
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Dent, Rev. Boise S.
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Johnson, Nathan B.
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Milivitsky, Mrs. William
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The Conference Participants were Officers or Members of the
Following Organizations, Etc.

Abyssinia Baptist Church
African Interpreter"
African Students Association
".Hm-Amcricnn"
Allied Labor News
Associated Negro Press
Brooklyn Inter-Racial Assembly
Brooklyn Urban League
Carnegie Endowment for
International Peace
"Christian Science Monitor"
Columbia University
Council for Pan-Africanism
Democracy
"Daily Worker"
Dalton School
Ethiopian School of Research
History
Ethiopian World Federation.
Local 26
Farmers Committee of British W.
Africa
Foreign Missions Conference of N.O.
America
Foreign Policy Association
"Fur and Leather Worker"
George Washington Carver School
Hunter College
Hotel Front Employees Union,
Local 144, AFL
Hotel Y: Restaurant Employees
Union, Local 6, AFL
I.A.G. Smith Political Party of
Jamaica
Jefferson School of Social Science
Joint Americanist Refugee
Committee
I.B.P.O.E.W., Imperial Lodge 127
"India Today"
International
Society
African Goodwill
International Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators
and Paperhangers, District
Council No. 9, AFL
International Fur Workers, Local
125, CIO
International Labor Defense
International Workers Order
Institute of Pacific Relations
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
National Council of Negro Women
National Federation for Constitutional
Liberties
National Lawyers Guild
National Maritime Union, CIO
"N.A.A.U. Pilot"
National Negro Congress
National Urban League
Negro Labor Victory Committee
New Jersey Committee, People's
Institute of Applied Religion
New York Metropolitan Council
of Negroes
New York Age"
"People's Voice"
Pioneer Negroes of the World
Press Alliance

State, County and Municipal Workers of America, Chapter 26, CIO
Schomburg Collection, York
Public Library
"The African"
Thirkield Methodist Church
Teachers Union of New York, Local
55:, SCMWA, CIO
United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, CIO
West Indies National Council
New
World Federation of African Peoples

APPENDIX

The following materials, consisting of factual data and authoritative opinion relating to Africa, were assembled by the Council on African Affairs as (1) memorandum for the Conference participants. These materials will be found useful for general reference and they form the background of principles and points of view expressed in the resolutions, speeches and (2) mission of the Conference.

APPENDIX A

Outline of U. S. Relations with Africa (pre-Pearl Harbor)

1485 -Beginning of trans-Atlantic slave trade.

Introduction of slaves into Virginia, 1619.

1821 - Liberia colonization scheme.

Declaration of Independence by Liberia, July 24, 1847.

U. S. recognition of Liberia, 1862. Firestone Corporation obtained 99-year lease to large area, 1925.

1862, 1870 - Treaties with Great Britain for suppression of slave trade.

1885-U. S. participated in Berlin Conference, which established "open door" policy for Congo Basin, but did not ratify act because of U. S. isolationist policy.

1919-Influence of President Wilson in establishment of Mandates System.

1919-26- U. S. signed following bilateral conventions affecting Africa: Liquor trade (1919). arms trade (1925), slavery (1926).

1923-25 - U. S. negotiated six conventions with the powers holding mandates in Africa, securing our rights in the colonial territories surrendered by Germany, and establishing the principle that the U. S. had a right to be consulted in the disposition of the ex-enemy colonies.

1935-42 - U. S. refused recognition of Italian Claim to sovereignty over Ethiopia.

1936-39 - U. S. representatives supported conventions of the International Labor Organization regarding recruiting of indigenous workers, and labor contracts and penal sections of indigenous workers.

U. 5. Relations with Africa Since Pearl Harbor

(front the Christian Sczmce Monitor, December 22, 1942.)

"There are prospects that the war for the hrst time will bring the United States into close trading and other connections with the great continent of Africa. . . .

itToday, thousands of American soldiers and workers are toil- ing under the burning sun of Africa. The exact location of these bases, is of course, a military secret but it is known that the former Italian colony¹ of Eritrea has been turned into an Ameri- can supply-base, that several airfields have been built in the Fighting French colonies and that contingents Of American forces have arrived in Leopoldville, capital of the Belgian Congo.

hAmerican experts supervise the African seaports in which American-made material for the battle fronts is discharged, United States technical troops have set up and guard 21 network of airports scattered over XVest and Central Africa which enable American planes to Hy t0 the Near East and India. American merchant vessels in increasing number arrive in the ports of the Red Sea. . . .

"Several United States Commercial missions have recently been sent to Central and t0 South.Africa. They concluded im- portant trade agreements. Simultaneously with the visit of these missions, the State Department in XVashington established new consulates in several African cities such as Brazzaville in Fighting French Africa and Mombaza in the Kenya colony. . . .

HDuring recent months, commerce between the United States and Africa has increased in percentage more than American trade with any other continent and trade figures are still going up.

uIn the period from August, 1940, to August, 1941 (last ofhcial trade figures published) imports from Africa to the United States rose 120 per cent while exports to Africa went up by 178 per cent, as compared with the same period 1939-40.

hThis growth of intercontinental commerce is particularly significant because shipments from the Mediterranean area of Africa, except from Egypt, have almost completely ceased. It is Africa, South of the Sahara, that has largely increased its con- tribution to United States raw-material supply. Imports from the Union of South Africa have almost doubled, while the

Belgian Congo which previously sent its copper, cobalt, tin to Belgium, today ships them to the United States.

"During the last year imports from this colony alone were as high as \$34,000,000, as compared with only \$1,600,000 in 1940. United States trade with the Fighting French Empire is likewise rapidly increasing. The American commercial mission which went to Brazzaville signed contracts for the delivery of 12,000 tons of lead, 8,000 tons of zinc, 5,000 tons monthly of titanate and other materials. . . .

Industrialization of Africa, however, can only progress if sufficient capital can be provided. . . . So far \$120,000,000 to \$150,000,000 of American capital have been invested in the African economy, mostly in South Africa and Rhodesian mines. After the war, America will probably be the only country in the world whose financial power will contribute funds to the industrialization of Africa."

U. S. Policy and the Future of Africa

"The Atlantic Charter applies not only to the parts of the world that border the Atlantic but to the whole world.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, February 23, 1942

"There rests upon the independent nations a responsibility in relation to dependent peoples who aspire to liberty. It should be the duty of nations having political ties with such peoples, of mandatories, of trustees, or of other agencies as the case may be, to help the aspiring peoples to develop materially and educationally, to prepare themselves for the duties and responsibilities of self-government, and to attain liberty. An excellent example of what can be achieved is afforded in the record of our relationship with the Philippines."

Secretary of State Cordell Hull.

September 12, 1943

APPENDIX B

Excerpts from address of Mr. Henry S. Villard, now Chief of the Division of African Affairs, Department of State. August 19, 1943

". . . For the first time we as a nation are beginning to ask exactly what are the relations of our country with the great undeveloped continent across the seas, and what are those relations to be in the future. . . .

HOn all the checkerboard map of Africa our ties with the
 Negro Republic of Liberia have been the most intimate. With :1
 constitution, flag and government patterned on our own, with a
 history: of American encouragement and supervision against pos-
 sible foreign encroachments, it is natural that Liberia should
 constitute our main link with the Africa of today. Liberia looms
 out of all proportion to its size for a number of reasons.
 UFor one thing, Liberia is a source of that vital commodity,
 rubber. The Firestone plantations, American-owned, are pro-
 ducing about 35,000,000 pounds annually. Another point is
 Liberia's favorable situation at the so-called narrows of the
 South Atlantic. According to precise measurement of the air
 routes, the Pan American Airways base at Fisherman Lake,
 Liberia, is actually nearer to Brazil than the French Port of
 Dakar. The implications of such a strategic location in the aerial
 age that is sure to follow this war are quite obvious.
 HLiberia stands ready to encourage American enterprise. Last
 June President Barclay visited Washington and made it clear
 that he would welcome the development of his country by United
 States interests, provided only that they benefited Liberia and
 did not exploit his people. . . . I (10 not doubt that in any plans
 which may be worked out for international security after the
 present COlllllfl, Liberia-aeross the way from the bulge of Brazil
 _will be one of the focal points of special importance to the
 Americas.
 . . Such has been the impact of war on the economy of
 Africa that lar-reaching results may be anticipated. The arti-
 ficial stimulus has caused many changes in methods of produc-
 tion and in the utilization of native labor. A new standard of
 living has been introduced, from which Africa cannot retreat.
 HNow what of the postwar period? To what extent will our
 ships continue to ply the waters of Africa, laden with building
 supplies and machinery on the one hand and returning with
 valuable tropical cargoes on the other? Common sense tells us
 that the wartime pitch cannot be maintained, that the require-
 ments of the African bases will diminish sharply. It is proble-
 matical to what degree our Lenerease arrangements will permit
 us to extend the projects which have so materially assisted the
 common war effort in Africa. XVar goods will be replaced by
 peace goods, and our normal shipments of automobiles, radios,
 leaf tobacco and hardware will be resumed.

tt'l'rade is bound to grow over the years. We would not be American if we were not interested in that. Moreover, our recently developed use for some of Africals products may well persist after the war. The staggering consumption of metals alone may seriously affect our own reserves, for instance, of manganese, copper and tin. Natural resources such as exist in Africa offer great reservoirs for development and use by the peoples of the world-including those indigenous to Africa. When time comes to formulate the conditions for the better world we all hope will follow the present struggle, I feel certain that the American principle of equality of opportunity in trade will remain a paramount factor in Africa, applicable in the colonies of whatever nationality. Furthermore, our interest in Africa is not that of the old pirates of old who plundered and robbed and took without giving in return. Africa needs our skills and services in order to achieve greater productivity, just as we need access to Africals resources. There will be ample room for cooperative effort in the working out of mutually beneficial 'L'('()n()lnl(undertakings, . . .

"While we are well aware of the economic possibilities in Africa and the amazing accessibility of that Continent which is now a fact, the political aspects of the colonial question are also clearly of interest to the American people. I say this for two reasons: first, because Americans are intensely alive to developments all over the world; secondly, because the peaceful development and welfare of Africa inescapably affect the security of all the western Hemisphere. The appearance of sore spots and frictions in the colonial systems of Africa is surely a matter of concern to us.

Whatever the dispositions of the peace to come, it is unlikely in the extreme that the former enemy territories in Africa will come into the outright possession of any one power. It is equally improbable that the United States would alone accept jurisdiction or control over any part of such former enemy territory. Notwithstanding the astonishing and probably Axis-inspired rumors which crop up from time to time, this government in keeping with its traditional policy throughout the world has no designs on the colonial possessions of other nations, and no desire to carve out for its exclusive benefit any portion of Africa.

No doubt the governing powers would welcome our partici-

pation in international bodies or regional councils, should they be set up, specifically to aid in the development of Africa for the benefit of the African people. As I have just pointed out, the opportunities for improvement in living standards, in education, health and agriculture, are practically without end. The governing powers have developed their colonies with limited colonial revenues. Granted that these resources have not permitted as rapid development as the British peoples or as you and I might wish, it is worth noting that the British Parliament recently Voted to make available over the next 10 years sums which may amount to 55 million pounds or more for the development of the British colonies. That is only a drop in the bucket of appropriations which Africa could absorb, but it is a start.

"All we wish to obtain benefits from the development of Africa, in the interest of all peoples-including the natives themselves. The Government must be supplied for various purposes and from various sources; philanthropic, commercial, and perhaps international. The proof of our sincerity in fulfilling hopes awakened during these years of war will lie in our willingness to contribute to and invest in the future of Africa. . . .

"The Continent of Africa is bound to play a prominent part in any system of international security which may be devised for the future. . . .

APPENDIX C

Current African Opinion

"I have been asked if in the post-war international criminal court Ethiopia will ask to be permitted to punish Mussolini. My reply is that however important it is that Mussolini should be punished, this is only the negative aspect of reestablishing the principles of international justice. Ethiopia is less interested in vengeance for the past than in justice for the future.

"It is much more important to Ethiopia to be given the opportunity to share the building and maintaining of international institutions which will prevent the rise of political bullies trampling on the rights of small nations."

—Emperor Haile Selassie, Aug. 3, 1943

"I know like anybody else that although we are fighting for democracy, we do not enjoy democratic rule in this country, but I look with hope to the influence that will be exerted by America and Russia toward our rights, as I think that if the

Allies win, 21 Now Order of Government will be brought about which will place all weaker nations under :1 joint mandate controlled by an international judicial system.

"I cannot believe that after so many declarations have been made on postwar reconstruction, any gOVt-rnment will be allowed to practice any form of slavery?

wThe Reverend J. A. Calatu, President of the (Iztpe Section. African National Congress, Union of South Alritu, at a meeting in October, 1945;.

'"lihc problem now is how to edumte and then initiate the African into modern life without uprooting him from his home and tribal life. Thus the prescnt-day educational problem in Africa is that of educational acculturation. . . .

ilIn the educational process of the African the best in western culture should be combined with the best in Atrium culture. In this respect there should be collaboration between educators. sociologists, and anthropologists, whose findings should enable those who are responsible for African education to prevent; the destruction of the best in indigenous African culture and at the same time to acquaint the African with the best in his own as well as in foreign Civilizations. Any system of education is impossible without respect for the educand.

. . Only on this ground can Africa create a new llnd distinct. civilization in the process of world advancement. It is because of this basic need of social regeneration and emancipation that everywhere in Africa today, youth movements are springing up and spreading themselves throughout the length and breadth of. the continent. Their aim is to raise the voice of Africa to join that of the people throughout the world for the defeat of fascism and to help build a post-war world based upon the principles of freedom as expressed in the Atlantic Charter. African leaders are convinced that every worthwhile phase of progress is accomplished by definite and determined action. The only ones who have the courage, stamina, strength, tenacity, and impulsiveness for such action are the young people. The future of Africa therefore depends upon the courage and fearlessness of its youth. The African youth is in action and very soon his voice will be heard." -Francis Nwia-Kofi Nkrumah,

"Education and Nationalism in Africa,"
Educational Outlook, Nov., 1943

APPENDIX D

"THE ATLANTIC CHARTER AND BRITISH WEST AFRICA"

Memorandum on Post-War Reconstruction of the Colonies and Protectorates of British West Africa

"The members of the XVth-st Atlantic Press Delegation to Great Britain (August, 1943), have been guided in drawing up this Memorandum by the assurance that the reforms embodied herein express the will and aspirations of the majority of the peoples of the Colonies and Protectorates of British West Africa. Moreover, the normal growth of those territories, the framers of this Memorandum believe that it is now necessary for them to evolve into fully-fledged democratic States. We believe that only through the crystallization of democracy in the social, economic and political life of the territories concerned can they progress step by step with other units of the British Empire; and we are confident that full freedom of the (economic) means of production and distribution by the indigenous peoples of the territories will ultimately lead to the equality and freedom of all."

By using our claims upon the Atlantic Charter (which is of the Atlantic Charter that the signatories thereto "reassert the right of ALL PEOPLES in the world to the best of life and the right of ALL PEOPLES in the world to the best of life") we put forward the following proposals: first, to the effect that the Atlantic Charter is the basis of the system of international relations in the Colonies of British West Africa.

1. The substitution thereof with representative government (internal responsible government) for the period of ten years.

2. The introduction of full self-government (self-government) for the period of ten years.

"The purpose of this Charter is to provide that the territories to be included in the Charter shall be self-governing political entities, aligned or associated with the British Commonwealth of Nations. As autonomous communities they will be equal in status, and in no way subordinate to any unit of the Commonwealth in any aspect of their internal or external affairs, although united by common interests."

1tThis procedure should be embodied in a formal Treaty with each unit of British West Africa, which shall be prepared on an equalitarian basis and shall not be unilateral in any material respect. Such Treaty will incorporate the basic constitutional rights and the relevant social, economic and political reforms enumerated below."

Among the specihc reforms proposed in the Memorandum were the following:

Four hundred scholarships should be awarded annually for five years to nationals of the Four West African dependencies. for study in the United Kingdom and elsewhere.

There should be a system of free and universal education, provision of more hospitals and dispensaries, and abrogation of racial distinction in the appointment of medical Officers and nurses.

Extensive agricultural reforms should include the stipulation that the marketing of primary produce no longer be left wholly to the discretion of local chambers of commerce but should be controlled by the government, which would legalize prices fixed by the indigenous producers through their own legally recognized organization.

There should be a minimum monthly wage of f5 (\$12.00) for unskilled labor and 1:6 for semi-skilled. This would be embodied in a minimum wage law.

Political reforms urged included a more democratic method in the appointment of governors; parity in the representation of Africans and non-Alricans in the executive council; abrogation of the color bar in the civil service; universal suffrage for legislative assemblies; democratization of the municipal and rural administration; and the appointment of Africans as High: Commissioners to England. The representation of vested interests in the councils was condemned and abrogation of the VCtO' power of governors was asked.

APPENDIX E

The French Colonial Conference at Brazzaville

Jan. 31-Feb. 8, 1944

(Excerpts from a Summary issued by the French Free; and Information Service, New York)

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ent representation constitutes an injustice to some of the Alricztn populations and that there can be no question of maintaining it.

Secondly, the Assembly retained three projects, the study 01' which will be carried as far as possible by a commission composed of Governors Laurentie, Vaillaume, Toby, and Of Administrator Delmas. and which can be summarized as follows:

(a) representation of all the colonies in the Metropolitan Parliament. based on the same general principles as the Metropolitan representation,

((1)) the creation of a Colonial Assembly, having :1 (:onsultw tive role only, which will sit besides the Metropolitan Government and the Chambers and will be called upon to giVe its opinion on all questions pertainingr to overseas territories.

(c) The institution of 21 large Federal Assembly composed of Metropolitan and Colonial representatives, and having its own deliberative powers on all matters of a federal nature.

' "The Assembly considers that the French policy which systematically increased, without limitations, the buying power of the African natives, should be maintained and reinforced. It believes, furthermore, that within the framework of international agreements which cannot fail to intervene if we are to avoid anarchy in matters of production, the central power should elaborate a general program of African production, after consultzv tion with the territories and examination of their possibilities. . . .

(The creation in Africa of an Institute for Agricultural Researches, sort of a superior technical advisor to Administrations and private enterprises, was also approved, as was approved the proposition relative to the distribution of modern agricultural equipment to native farmers. . . .

l' The outline of what will be the French Policy in Africa has already been drawn: decentralization in the field of ztdtninistizt- tive and political affairs, which goes hand in hand with a rapid evolution guided by local administrators, and centralization in the field of economic and technical affairs, which is explained by the still total lack of unity and of means proper to the African :7

territories. . . .

(Condensed f10m COLONIAL POLICIES IN AFRICX In 11.

APPENDIX F

African Populafion Siafisiics

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The Polifical Divisions of Africa

(Territories 2111c colonies Or protectorates unless otherwise indicated. They are listed in order of size, beginning with largest.)

British West African Territories: Nigeria (and Cameroon, Mandate), Gold Coast (and Togo, Mandate), Sierra Leone, Gambia.

British East African Territories: Tanganyika (Mandate), Northern Rhodesia, Kenya, Uganda, Nyasaland, Zanzibar (International Protectorate), Pemba Islands, (International Protectorate).

British South African Territories: Union of South Africa (Dominion), South West Africa (Mandate), Bechuanaland, Southern Rhodesia (Self-governing Colony), Basutoland, Swaziland.

British North East African Territories: Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (Condominium), British Somaliland.

French Territories: French West Africa (and Togo, Mandate), French North Africa (Department and Colony), French Equatorial Africa, French Cameroon (Mandate). French Somaliland.

Belgian Territories: Belgian Congo, Ruanda-Urundi (Mandate).

Portuguese Territories: Angola and Cabinda, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, Sao Tome and Principe.

Spanish Territories: Rio de Oro and Ifni, Spanish Morocco (International Protectorate), Spanish Guinea (Rio Muni). French Morocco and Islands, Tangier (International 7.0110).

Italian Territories: Libya, Italian Somaliland. Eritrea.

Other Territories: Egypt (Monarchy), Ethiopia (Mandate; 1171'1111). Liberia (Republic).

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of the

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

The Council, now in its seventh year, exists for the purpose of disseminating accurate information concerning Africa and its people, and of directing public opinion toward furthering such policies and interests as are consistent with the needs and aspirations of Africans and with international security.

This it does through forums and public meetings, which have been held in every section of the country, through its monthly bulletin, New Africa, and other publications, and through its press release service.

Since the outbreak of World War II the Council has advocated and petitioned for the general arming of Africans and the immediate removal of economic, social and political restrictions which hinder the full participation of Africa's millions and the full utilization of that continent's immense resources in the fight against fascism.

The officers of the Council have this year consulted with officials of the Department of State regarding this government's policies in relation to Africa. They have kept in close contact with officials of European governments with African colonies, and some of those officials were present at the April 14 Conference. They submitted recommendations regarding policy for dependent territories to the Conference of the International Labor Organization held recently in Philadelphia and followed closely the proceedings of that Conference. The Council has also in recent months attempted to rally the support of progressive organizations behind such specific campaigns of the African people as that for the abolition of the Pass System in the Union of South Africa.

Now, with the prospect of victory near, the Council is seeking to enlist the widest possible endorsement and support of proposals for quickly bringing post-war Africa within the world-orbit of a modern economy of abundance and of a democratic social order.

(See list of officers and members on page 36)

Ours Is the Decision

Back to the old world of imperialist rivalries, colonial stagnation, and mass unemployment for America and other industrially advanced countries;-or forward into the world of the United Nations with the common aim of raised living standards, economic security and democracy for all peoples?

Will Africa continue to be known as the "Dark Continent?

isolated from the world's progress, or will her 150 million people share in and contribute to the general advancement of democracy?

The Council on African Affairs believes that the principles and policies set forth in this Conference Report provide the sound basis for guaranteeing the proper answers to these questions.

THE COUNCIL URGES MAXIMUM SUPPORT OF THE ,
CONFERENCE'S FINDINGS

- Give them the widest publicity through every possible channel.
- Get your trade union, church, school, club or community organization to devote a meeting to the discussion of Africa and the place of colonial peoples in the post-war world.
- Send resolutions similar to the major resolution of the Conference to President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Cordell Hull.

KEEP ABREAST of facts, events and policies relating to Africa-

SUBSCRIBE to the monthly bulletin of the Council-
NEW AFRICA

(3 1.00 per year)

FURTHER THE WORK of the Council by becoming an associate member (\$2.00 minimum per year, including subscription to bulletin).

For further information write:

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